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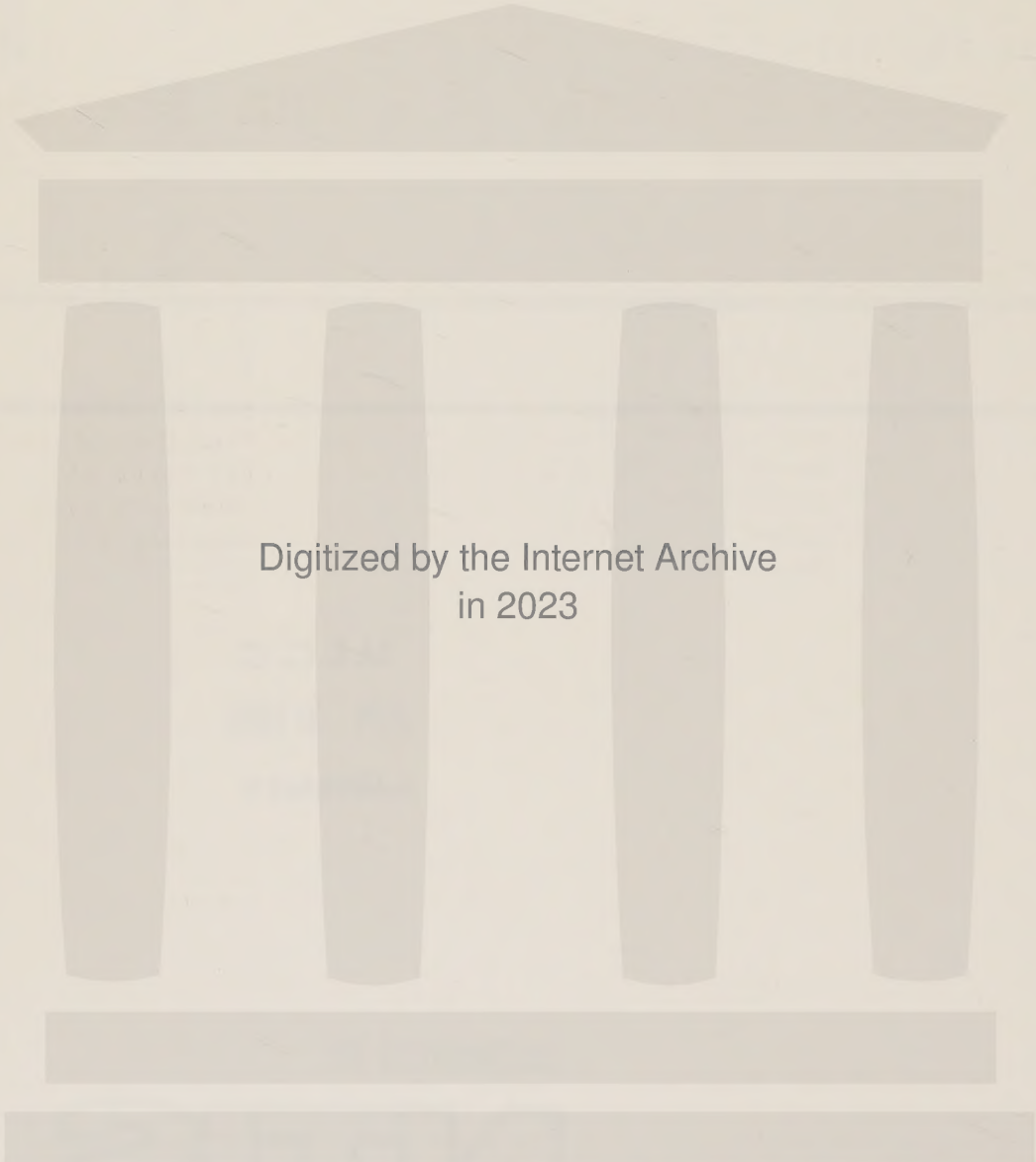

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Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

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Correspondence on Bourgeois Right

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

I. Letter from Wu Nung to Kung Ch'ing

Little Kung:

It's nearly ten days since our last meeting in Shanghai during the Spring Festival. As soon as I got back to the production team, I joined the poor and lower-middle peasants in keenly studying the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Every night,the evening political school of our team was literally filled with lively discussions. Many poor and lower-middle peasants and educated youths got together to seriously study the quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory. Today, when I helped several commune members to remove dung from the pig farm, we naturally had a little chat during the break about the correct attitude toward the problem of distribution according to work. One asked: "Since distribution according to work is about the same as in the old society, why is it still in existence now? And since it is allowed to exist, why is it necessary to restrict it under the dictatorship of the proletariat?" We then asked our pigsty keeper, who was a poor peasant, to tell us his understanding of this problem. This comrade was just like Ma Lao-szu, the poor-peasant pig breeder in the novel "The Bright Sunny Sky." Since he took charge of the pig farm, pigs have multiplied and so has his workload. Several times the commune members wanted to increase his work points, but every time they brought it up, he simply refused to accept their offer. Each year, during the busy farming season, he would always take time out to take part in voluntary labor in the big fields, but he has never accepted one extra work point. What is more, when an old sow gave birth to piglings, he took millet from his home and prepared porridge for the sow. How does such a collective-loving old peasant look at distribution according to work?

This old poor peasant began with the following story: One year the team relaxed its effort in class struggle. This gave rise to the ill winds of capitalism, which affected the socialist enthusiasm of the commune members. Some cadres thought that the cause of the apathy was that the policy of "to each according to his work" had been carried out neither firmly nor thoroughly. So they decided to "crack the hard nut with proper measures." During the summer harvest that year, they tried to set quotas for the individuals in farm jobs. What was the result? Quite a mess. One day, during wheat cutting, people vied with each other for the best rows of wheat to cut, leaving the bad ones for others. This caused squabble and disunity. Early the next morning, some even sent their kids to the fields to get the best rows ahead of others and asked them to wait for them to come. In the past, when no quotas were set, the commune members used to help each other. Those who finished their jobs would help those who had not done so. And everyone worked

happily together and grew more and more enthusiastic as work progressed. Now, when quotas for the individual were set, each just cared for oneself and couldn't care less for the communist style. Some commune members with strong labor power finished their daily job in four hours and went back to farm their private plots. Those with weak labor power couldn't finish their work though they had to work from morning till night, and had to get all their old people and children to help. With "quota in command," some commune members lost a lot of wheat grain in the rush for work points, completely neglecting the quality of work. With this lesson in mind, the team initiated mass revolutionary criticism against "putting quota in command," dwelling on "from each according to his ability," and stepped up the ideological education. In assessing work points, we assessed not only the labor of each person but also his thought, his attitude toward unity and his work style. This way, the socialist enthusiasm of our commune members increased day by day. Even the kids have changed a lot over the past few years. They now go to the fields to pick up wheat ears for the collective, not to grab rows for their parents.

The old peasant's story made me ponder over the question of distribution according to work. I strongly felt that in carrying out this policy, we must not leave out "from each according to his ability" or go in for material incentives. What is more, I believe that "to each according to his work" itself embodies bourgeois right. We must not say "long live distribution according to work" or "distribution according to work is omnipotent." The fact that we recognize it and allow it to exist at the present stage does not mean that we should extend or develop it. On the contrary, we should follow Chairman Mao's instruction and restrict the bourgeois right embodied in the distribution according to work under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If this isn't done, revisionism is likely to occur. When our team practiced quotas in command several years ago, it produced individualism and egotism and reduced socialist ideas and the communist style, and it would be strange if revisionism did not emerge if this state of affairs continued.

Also, I feel that in some places or units, there is often a lack of understanding of bourgeois right embodied in distribution according to work. I wonder if you have the same feeling about this? When the masses are very enthusiastic, some people would attribute this to the policy of "to each according to his work," and when there is less enthusiasm, these people would blame it -- without analysis -- on the failure to implement this policy thoroughly. So they proposed to divide the profit and offer "small contract jobs," handing out bonuses in the form of wash basins and towels. Do you still remember Little Niu? He's working on a timber farm. Once he wrote to me, saying he wanted to give me some wash basins and towels. He said these were given as prizes and he had too many of them to use. If he had refused to accept them, he would have been criticized for lacking line consciousness. He didn't like it and I supported him. Such a practice of issuing prizes at random not only corrupts people's thinking but also causes wastage of social material wealth. Why didn't those who gave away such prizes do some deep thinking? Can it be that

the vast socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of people in doing their best to create wealth for the nation and the collective stems not from Party education but from material incentives?

The other day, Big Liu, who works at the Ch'infen Farm, went to the hsien town to attend a study class, when he passed through our area for an over-night stay. We talked late into the night, and he told us something about his farm. I want to tell it to you. He said:

> "Our farm has more than 700 people, including over 500 educated youths from Shanghai. As we have persevered in the correct line and put proletarian politics in command, everyone works with great socialist enthusiasm. We have fully fostered the socialist spirit of mutual help -- a far cry from those places where a job is for the pay. It is socialist construction we are working for! There is a sharp contrast. Once, the youths of a neighboring farm did the same kind of work with us. They numbered 20, while we numbered only 4. They worked on a quota basis, and they would stop and rest after working for a while. We four worked hard and non-stop. They laughed at us, saying: 'You're fools, for you don't know how to save your energy.' We went on working in spite of what they had said. Before the end of the day, the four of us did more than the twenty of them. Embarrassed, they said: 'You mustn't go on working like that!' Why such a big difference? The question is not that the youths were bad, but that the line they followed was wrong. Indeed, two kinds of lines produce two kinds of results!"

Big Liu's words certainly set us thinking. Even as I'm writing these very lines I can picture in my mind Big Liu and the other three educated youths putting their shoulders to the wheel and also our old pig breeder working heart and soul for the collective and without regard for pay. Such brilliant images float across my eyes. Just think of it: we've got thousands upon thousands of such people working in our great socialist motherland of proletarian dictatorship. It is they who understand best the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and distribution according to work. Do those comrades who are keen on material incentives and place prizes in command feel ashamed of themselves before these heroes?

Well, I've written a lot, and the night is deep. So much for now. Hoping to hear from you soon.

With militant salutations!

Wu Nung

February 24, 1975

II. Letter from Kung Ch'ing to Wu Nung

Little Wu:

What a coincidence! Your letter arrived just as our dock workers were having a hot debate over the question of distribution according to work. Some said such distribution was good in itself, and the only trouble was that it was abused by some people in practice. Others argued that since distribution according to work was a "defect," it might as well be abolished altogether. How, then, should we look at this issue? Your story about the poor and lower-middle peasants' views on the matter was enlightening. I, too, want to tell you something about our discussion here at the dock.

Two days ago, several young workers visited master worker Huang, a retired dock worker. Huang has earned quite a name at our dock. He was born to a very poor family and after liberation he had worked with a keen sense of responsibility which arose from his deep feeling of emancipation. Wherever he was needed, he was sure to be there, and he would do anything -- loading and unloading and other minor jobs. Everyone called him "old yellow ox." He took part in many social activities and was transferred quite a number of times. In 1963, not long after he was transferred to the kitchen staff, there was a wage scale evaluation. Taking his conditions into consideration, the leadership gave him the 4th grade. But some young people whom he had helped train were given the 5th or even 6th grade because they had been doing technical work. When we visited him, he said:

> "My salary was quite high. Several dozen yuan of monthly pension enables me and my wife to spend our remaining years in happiness. Our children are all working, they can support themselves. If it weren't for Chairman Mao's leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system of public ownership, how could we dock workers enjoy such a happy life as we are enjoying today? Recently, I've studied Chairman Mao's important directive and quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Somehow I always feel that in the past some people misinterpreted distribution according to work. They tended to extol the eight-grade wage system and distribution according to work to the skies, saying paying one for the job was most equitable and reasonable. Is it? Well, I want to ask: First, which kind of people we prefer to have -- those who are obedient and wholly devoted to the Party and obey its assignments, or those selfish people who disobey orders? Second, in the socialist society, who trains a man to become a skilled worker with culture?"

These were two good questions. When we returned to the dock, we discussed them with all the other dock workers. We again studied Chairman Mao's instruction: "The wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-

grade wage scale" and "there is little difference from the old society." We then thought of ourselves at the dock, where some didn't want to work on the kitchen staff or do minor jobs, and some even disobeyed transfer orders. We came to recognize that all this actually was inseparable from bourgeois right embodied in the eight-grade wage system and distribution according to work. This is because under the eight-grade wage system different kinds of work are categorized in grades and even for the same kind of work there are different types of pay. That was why some were reluctant to do this or that kind of work, and disobeyed transfer orders. Didn't this have something to do with bourgeois right? Although it is still necessary for us at present to recognize this kind of distribution system which embodies bourgeois right and allow it to exist, nevertheless bourgeois right must be gradually restricted and must never be extended or consolidated.

Actually, the grading of different kinds of work and skills is more or less the same as in the old society. In capitalist society, one learns and acquires skill at his own expense, and skill therefore becomes his private property. When reflected in the wage system, this means that "skilled slaves are sold dear and skilled wage workers are paid more." ("Anti-Dühring") In socialist society, society pays for the technical education and therefore skill should not become private property. Engels said: "In a society organized on socialist principle, such expenses are borne by society; therefore the fruit created by complex labor, namely, the larger part of value, goes to society. The workers themselves have no extra demands." (Ibid.) In the eight-grade wage system, skilled labor is separated from simple labor and different kinds of work are given different pay -- isn't this much the same as in a capitalist society?!

Such discussion animated many "old dockers." There was one incident which impressed me the most. In 1964, swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao stirred up the ill wind of "thoroughly implementing" distribution according to work. One of our leading dock cadres gave it a test. He ruled that where possible work should be done on a piece-work basis, and that time wages should be paid only where piece-work wages could not be paid. In the case of time wage, work was paid by 32 fen /cents/ per hour on the average. In the case of piece work, each hour was paid about 48 fen. For loading and unloading work piece-work wages were paid, while drivers were given time wages. What was the result? Some regarded the working hours as his own and did as they pleased. Others asked: "If I do more now, would I suffer if quotas are revised in the future?" Some worked so hard for a little more money that they got sick. The result was that this test was stopped at the request of the workers. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of cadres and workers at our dock have been working with unity of will and effort, winning a twin bumper harvest in revolution and production year after year.

The discussion finally focused on this question: In socialist society what do we rely on to arouse people's enthusiasm? On putting politics in command or on the eight-grade wage system? Socialist

enthusiasm can never be brought into play by means of money. If it were, it could only be capitalist enthusiasm. I read your letter to the workers. When I came to your story about Little Niu--how he was criticized for refusing to accept wash basins and towels as prizes, everybody laughed. The "little Red soldier" (don't you remember him? He is Little Kao, the youngest Red Guard in our class) said that to the person who criticized Little Niu, "Marshal Lord Chao" had the highest line consciousness. But this line was repudiated by Lenin long ago. Lenin said: "To work for money --this is the morality of the capitalist world." ("Report at a Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee") In capitalist society, "work for money" or "money for work" has become a universally accepted principle. The bourgeoisie has "reduced the relations between men to bare relations of interests, and apart from the merciless 'cash trade,' there are no other ties." ("Communist Manifesto")

The study and discussion have made our dock workers realize that in our country there still exist two kinds of public ownership as well as the commodity system, and that though the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" still has to be carried out in the distribution of articles of consumption, there is a need to restrict bourgeois right embodied in distribution according to work under the dictatorship of the proletariat. How to restrict it? In my opinion, the most important thing is to really understand this problem. We should particularly stress the importance of "from each according to his ability," and we must advocate communist labor on a voluntary basis, without quotas, and without consideration for pay. As early as in 1918, in his article "How To Organise Emulation Drives," Lenin called for struggle against the "old habit" of looking at the quantity of work and at the means of production from the old viewpoint. In 1919, Lenin warmly supported and encouraged "subbotniks" as a "great beginning." He stated that "if there is anything communist under the present system in Russia, it is subbotniks, the rest being struggle against capitalism and for the consolidation of socialism." Chairman Mao has also instructed us to learn from Comrade Bethune's spirit of total unselfishness and from Comrade Chang Szu-te's spirit of serving the interests of the people wholeheartedly. The subbotniks bear this great significance because it symbolizes a complete break by the hundreds of millions of people with the traditional relations of ownership and traditional concepts. They have totally repudiated the narrow bourgeois views of being concerned with personal gains and refusing to work half an hour more or receive a penny less than others.

At our dock, a veteran cadre who was strict in dissecting himself wasn't clear on the purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat before the great cultural revolution, and he was rather keen on carrying out Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line of material incentives and "bonuses in command." Thanks to his own personal experience, positive and negative, in the past, he was able to get a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction: "If people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." He said: At that time he had no idea that material incentives as advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i were

wrong because our wages were relatively stable and could not be adjusted every month. Before wage adjustments, how could we promote the enthusiasm of people? One naturally thought of bonuses. Bonuses might vary on the basis of one's labor performance daily or monthly, and could fully arouse his zeal. But facts point to the other way. Jobs were done more rigidly after monthly bonuses were issued and work assessed. As he couldn't distinguish right from wrong at that time, he not only failed to see his mistakes, he even went so far as to resort to measures of controlling, supervising and repressing the workers. As a result, he was criticized by the masses during the great cultural revolution. Forged and educated in the great cultural revolution, he came to realize that the measures he adopted in the past were actually a variant of "carrot plus the big stick." He said: "As I didn't understand why dictatorship must be imposed over the bourgeoisie, I carried out the revisionist line and took the wrong road opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. How dangerous! Thanks to the cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao I pulled back from the brink of revisionism. Today, I realize that if we don't distinguish socialism from capitalism, Marxism from revisionism, and proletarian dictatorship from bourgeois dictatorship, we will follow people like Lin Piao if they come to power." I think this old cadre's remarks are really logical, based on his experience!

Well, let me stop now. Eh! I think of one more thing. During the discussion someone asked me to talk about the principle of commodity exchange between equal values in the distribution according to work, as referred to by Marx. I didn't make this principle very clear. I think Little Sang, who is battling on the commercial front and who is studying political economy, will certainly be able to make this question clear! I'll write to him about it. If you have something to say on this matter, please do write to me.

A warm handshake!

Kung Ch'ing

February 28, 1975

* * *

Thoughts on Reading the Old Newspaper

by

Chai Ch'ing (翟青)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

Following are excerpts of two news items concerning the "San Fan"* and "Wu Fan"** movements carried in Chieh-fang Jih-pao in the old days.

> A serious case of corruption and degeneration was revealed in the Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station, East China. Lu Hsing-yüan, head of the engineering division and concurrently of the broadcasting equipment section of the Station, 31-year-old and a native of Linyi, Shantung Province, was a student before he joined the revolutionary ranks in Yenan in 1938 and the Chinese Communist Party in August of the same year. ....After the victory of the revolution, he was transferred to the city. Failing to resist the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology and a luxurious life, he developed hedonist and individualist thoughts and finally degenerated, committing a serious offense of corruption. In the space of nine months after taking office, he used his position to embezzle a total sum of over 247 million yuan (note: equivalent to more than 24,700 JMP now.) He led a more and more decadent life, spending as much as 30 million yuan (equivalent to 3,000 JMP now) on his rents and living illicitly with two women at one time and another.
>
> -- Chieh-fang Jih-pao
> November 19, 1951

*

> Party members and non-Party comrades of the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau and other units uncovered the disgraceful act of degeneration committed by Ts'ao XX.

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* San Fan Movement -- campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy.

** Wu Fan Movement -- campaign against bribery, tax evasion, stealing state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic secrets. - Translator.

Ts'ao XX (note: an executive of the Party group of the Shanghai People's Municipal Government, deputy secretary-general of the Shanghai People's Municipal Government and currently head of the Civil Affairs Bureau) joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1932. Since he joined the Party, he still kept to and developed thoughts of individual heroism, and was moreover seriously afflicted by the privileged thoughts of the feudal landlord class. This caused him to commit a series of grave mistakes, such as violating the Party's policies, creating sectarianism, and treating his work with an extremely bad patriarchical attitude.... Guided by the decadent thoughts of the landlord and bourgeois classes, he lived a most lavish and wasteful life. For instance, during the most difficult years of the Third Revolutionary Civil War (commonly known as War of Liberation), he still kept for himself a horse and two cars. Even when he travelled for 8-10 li, he would insist on driving a car. During the "3 check-up and 3 rectification" movement, evidence collected by the Chiaotung Administrative Office showed Ts'ao's annual personal living expenditure had to be borne by 200-300 middle peasants. Since he liked to eat spinach in winter, he forced the masses to dig up spinach from the snow-covered fields. To have chickens for himself, he forced the masses to kill the hens that were laying eggs. When there weren't any fish in the market, he would order his guards to catch fish for him in the river. These inexcusable errors were all exposed and severely criticised during the rectification campaign in 1947, and he was relieved of his post as director of the administrative office. Though the Party has made repeated efforts to educate and save him over the past few years, he has kept to his errors covertly while pretending compliance overtly. Since he came to Shanghai, he has grown steadily worse and now has completely degenerated.

Abusing his power to the hilt and with total disregard for regulations or systems, he has been living a dissipated life. He was not content with occupying the war criminal T'ang En-po's "residence," and used a large quantity of gasoline to wipe out the original paint and spent 25 million yuan (note: equivalent to 2,500 JMP now) on redecorating the house. To "beautify" the house, he had pink lace-curtains made for the windows. The government had given him a very nice car, but still this could not satisfy his lust for luxury and ostentation, and he used a jeep belonging to the state to exchange for an air-conditioned car with a radio. In order to buy a pair of scissors, he went out with an assistant in a car and visited the various department stores. Whenever he gave banquets, the general services department, in order to please him, would try to procure the

best foodstuff from every source.... For every meal, he demanded his favorite dishes. The staff of the Civil Affairs Bureau said: "Director Ts'ao lives even better than the landlords and capitalists." This was how he shamelessly pursued the extravagant and decadent way of living.

-- Chieh-fang Jih-pao
March 14, 1952

*

These two news items were headline news that shook the entire city at that time. Actually, from the evidence collected during the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements, such new bourgeois elements and upstarts as Lu and Ts'ao were not individual cases. They reflected from one aspect the state of the corrosive influence of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Though these news items of over twenty years ago are no longer news but stories of the past, they should not be forgotten as teaching material of the shocking class struggle.

The cases of Lu and Ts'ao were by no means accidental or isolated occurrences. The founding of the People's Republic in 1949 marked the end of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. With this historical change, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie became the main contradiction in the nation. As Chairman Mao pointed out in his report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: "The restrictive policies adopted against private capitalism are bound to be opposed by the bourgeoisie in varying degrees and various forms." Since the founding of the nation, facts have proved that in its resistance to socialist reformation, the bourgeoisie has unleashed premeditated, organized and frantic attacks against the proletariat in the economic and political fields. In the economic field, they gained private possession of an enormous amount of state wealth through illegal means, and squandered it like water. In the political sphere, they corrupted and bribed some Party members and cadres, turning them into bourgeois "spies" and "agents" operating in the guise of Party members and government cadres to subvert the socialist cause. People like Lu and Ts'ao were products of bourgeois corruption.

To beat back the frenzied attacks of the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao solemnly called upon the people and working personnel of the whole nation to "unite and launch a massive and swift drive against corruption, waste and bureaucracy to wipe out these evil vestiges of the old society!" In accordance with Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, an anti-corruption, anti-waste and anti-bureaucracy "San Fan" movement was first launched within the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Government, the People's Liberation Army and within popular organizations. Next, the "Wu Fan" movement against bribery, tax evasion, stealing state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing state economic secrets was

carried out in the industrial and commercial circles. These struggles checked the "3 evils" and "5 evils" threatening socialism, effectively consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and scored resounding victories.

Why is it that some cadres and Party members who have joined the revolution and the Party for many years have been taken in by the cajolery of the bourgeoisie? Why is it that, in spite of the fact that Chairman Mao had already warned all the Party members against the danger of being "defeated by sugar-coated bullets" in his report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, such things did happen after all? Let historical facts answer this question. According to Chieh-fang Jih-pao of November 19, 1951:

> "Lu Hsing-yuan had been married long ago. His wife is now a teacher of a women's literacy class in her hometown in Shantung Province. They have two children. But since he befriended Li Te-wei, a profiteer (manager of Tientung Auction Agency in Shanghai and formerly a hired spy of the bogus Shanghai Police Department) in September last year, the latter, eager to make use of this connection to reap illegal profits from the state, has tried by hook or by crook to seduce Lu, fawning upon and bribing him with all sorts of presents and gifts (coats, sweaters, etc.), taking him to dance halls and restaurants where they had the company of prostitutes and dancing girls. Thus Lu Hsing-yuan has fallen completely into the slough of total degeneration and corruption."

In order to transform Lu, the bourgeoisie had indeed resorted to every trick at its disposal. Let's now take a look at Lu's confession carried in Chieh-fang Jih-pao of December 29, 1951:

> "Since I befriended Li Te-wei (an evil merchant), he frequently took me to such places of pleasure as the Kuochi Restaurant, dance parlors and the homes of social butterflies, showing me what a corrupt society looked like. It was then that I got to know that in Shanghai there was another world -- the world of wine and women. Since then I lost all interest in revolutionary work and began to envy the happy-go-lucky merchants. My stand changed."

The above two excerpts give us a complete picture of how the bourgeoisie corrupts the minds of weak-willed revolutionaries. Such people as Lu Hsing-yuan did not study hard in ordinary times, nor did they pay any attention to the remolding of their world outlook. That was why when they entered the city and found themselves in a world of parties, presents and flattery -- a world they had never seen before -- they were so fascinated that they quickly degenerated into new bourgeois elements

and upstarts. That year, Wang K'ang-nien, proprietor of Tak'ang Dispensary in Shanghai, unashamedly declared: "Tak'ang is a center for cadres to reform their thoughts." Such wild words reflected the frantic attempts of the bourgeoisie to transform the proletariat according to their own features. Haven't the comrades who took part in the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements forgotten them? Haven't the young comrades who did not take part in these movements ever heard about them? We must know that though the bourgeoisie is not armed with real guns, it has sugar-coated bullets that are even more dangerous than real guns!

There is little difference between Ts'ao XX and Lu Hsing-yuan as far as material enjoyment is concerned. But Ts'ao liked to put on airs, acting like a high and mighty official, always demanding special privileges. After all, he had been a Party member for twenty years, and he was "proud" of this. He always called himself a "hero" and asserted his "independence" from the Party, turning a blind eye to Party discipline and policies. He turned the department under his control into a bourgeois independent kingdom. Often he would say to the comrades of the Civil Affairs Bureau: "I will not tolerate any opposing views in my Bureau." How tyrannical! He treated his guards and cooks like feudal lords treated their slaves. He wooed those cadres who curried favor with him and attacked those who firmly adhered to correct principles. To him, it was only proper and right to have private cars, special dishes and special houses. Such people looked upon their contribution to revolution as a kind of "commodity" to be exchanged for material comforts. They were very greedy and their greed grew with their "success." They believed in the very logic Lenin had criticized: "As long as I can grab something, what do I care about sparing anything?" When we see how Ts'ao had committed the serious mistakes of bureaucracy and demanding privileges in the past, we can see him more clearly as a man. As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Though these people have joined the Party organizationally, ideologically they have not entirely done so or even have not done so at all. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still have a lot of filthy things of the exploiting classes in their heads. They do not know what proletarian ideology is, nor do they know what communism is or what the Party is. They think: Isn't the so-called proletarian ideology the same old stuff? How can they ever realize that this stuff is not so easy to acquire? Some people have never had the flavor of a communist and can only end up leaving the Party." Such people whose heads are filled with dirty ideas of the exploiting classes and who refuse to be reformed will relapse into their malignant habits and begin to swell once the climate is right. Ts'ao was expelled from the Party. There can be only two paths for such people to take: one is to learn from their mistakes, amend their ways and turn over a new leaf; the other, to continue sliding down the wrong road until complete destruction.

Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly,

spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among personnel of state organs, there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Chairman Mao's instruction embodies a profound summing up of past and present experience. Why is it that new bourgeois elements emerge from among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members? Why is it that both within the ranks of the proletariat and among personnel of state organs, there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life? This is because "the defeated capitalism rots, pollutes the atmosphere and poisons our life, surrounding the new, young and vigorous things with decadent and moribund things from all directions." (Lenin: "Letter to the American Workers") We are building socialism on the foundation of the old society. The old site, however, cannot be swept clean at once. The socialist society still bears the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it has emerged. The remnants of old thoughts that reflect the old system will continue to remain in our minds for a long time to come, and will not go away lightly. The soil of capitalism will still exist even after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production. Today, there still exist bourgeois rights, which constitute an important economic basis for the appearance of new bourgeois elements.

"Historical experience merits our attention." Facts exposed in the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements proved from the very outset that a prominent feature of the class struggle in the socialist period is that an important means used by the bourgeoisie in its offensive is to bring about a peaceful change. They try to consolidate and continuously extend bourgeois rights and the inequalities caused by them and to corrupt some Party members and cadres with the bourgeois ideological style, to form a group of new bourgeois elements from the revolutionary ranks and make them the social foundation for restoring capitalism. Such a situation has occured many times over the past twenty years or so since the founding of the People's Republic. Batches of new bourgeoisie elements and upstarts were exposed from the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements to the urban and rural socialist education campaign of 1964 and the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is indeed something that merits our serious consideration, something that should serve as a grave warning to all of us.

The historical experience of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie since the founding of the People's Republic shows the need to continuously strengthen all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. At present the people of the whole nation are, following Chairman Mao's instructions, seriously studying and mastering the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great event of immense current and far-reaching historical significance. In the current study movement we should attach importance to linking our study with the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist revolutionary

period in our country, with the current class and line struggles. We should read more Marxist-Leninist books. Thus, we shall certainly be able to deepen our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat and conscientiously carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let us strive firmly to create, step by step, conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise!

* * *

There Is A Note Like This

by

Chang Chih-ming (章智明)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

A note found in the Complete Works of Lenin reads as follows: "Director of the General Services Department of the People's Commissariat Vladimir Dmitriyevich Baunch -- Buluyevich (弗拉基米尔·德米特利也维奇·邦契—布鲁也维奇):

In view of your refusal to carry out my resolute demand, i.e., to give me an explanation as to why my salary has been raised from 500 roubles a month to 800 roubles a month effective from March 1, 1918, and in view of the fact that you took it upon yourself to have my salary raised with only the consent of the Secretary to the Commissariat Nikolai Petrovich Korbulnov (尼古拉·彼得罗维奇·哥尔布诺夫) in gross violation of the law and in direct contravention with the decree passed by the People's Commissariat on November 23, 1917, I hereby pronounce a disciplinary measure against you in the form of a severe warning.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman, People's Commissariat"

As one reads through the note, one cannot but be greatly moved by the loftiness of this revolutionary spirit.

Lenin, Chairman of the People's Commissariat, the world's first Red Government, was one who took great pains to serve the Russian revolution and the world revolutionary movement day and night. But his salary was only the equivalent of that of a skilled worker in his time, and the food he ate -- dried brown bread, and without butter -- was nowhere different from that taken by ordinary laborers and peasants. How could Buluyevich, in his capacity as Director of the General Services Department, tolerate the fact that his own leader was still leading such a hard life after the victory of the revolution? For the sake of Lenin's health as well as the revolutionary cause itself, he went against the ruling of the People's Commissariat that the highest monthly salary for a member of the Commissariat should not exceed 500 roubles, and on his own authority raised Lenin's salary by 300 roubles. This was completely understandable.

Lenin, however, did not think in the same terms, for he had in mind the battle to have the decadent habits and practices of the bourgeoisie eradicated and advocated a new socialist morality obliging the whole party to share the hardships of the people. For thousands of years, bureaucrats had been used to throwing their weight around and lording it over the people. "Three clean years in public office, a hundred thousand pieces of silver." This was a wonderful portrayal of

these people. What harm was there if the salary were a little higher? But the October Revolution changed the old relationship among people and put right again everything that had been reversed. As Lenin saw it, between the Chairman of the People's Commissariat and the ordinary worker and peasant, there was only a division of revolutionary responsibility, and no difference whatsoever in status. When one gains a higher position or rank, that only means his burden has become heavier, that he must devote more of his energy to the Party and state; it does not mean that he may give himself privileges in violation of the rulings of the People's Commissariat. This was the reason why Lenin decided to take disciplinary action against the loyal Comrade Bulayevich.

It goes without saying that socialist policies and communist ideological education are not only related to each other but are also distinguished from each other. When the Soviet government was just born, Lenin introduced a buying-out policy of giving the bourgeois experts high salaries after taking into account the various historical factors, the fact that Russia was still economically backward and that the war had left production disrupted. Their salaries, initially raised to 1,200 roubles a month, were later increased to 3,000 roubles a month. However, in his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Lenin pointed out that this was a kind of compromise, a provisional measure, "a departure from the principle of the Paris Commune or of any proletarian government." Moreover, "the demoralizing influence of high salaries" would "affect the working masses" and "affect the Soviet government." Lenin sincerely warned that the Soviet government should take steps to restrict such bourgeois rights as "high salaries," and did not hesitate to set an example. Please look at what Krupskaya (克鲁普斯卡娅) said: "When someone tried to do a lot of favors for Ilich, such as putting some nice furniture in his office or letting him draw a large salary, he got very angry. I remember how mad he was when Comrade Malikov, captain of the Kremlin Guard, brought him a tin of peanut crisps." What kind of spirit was this? It was the communist spirit, the spirit of total disregard for one's own interest and wholehearted concern for others. A great communist fighter battling against bourgeois right with such a spirit would certainly not allow Comrade Bulayevich to have his salary raised by 300 roubles without authorization.

Within the young Soviet government, those who opposed Lenin's noble spirit were people who thought "the capitalists have grabbed, let me have a go, too," people whom Lenin had already denounced. These people viewed taking part in the revolution as an "investment" or becoming a "shareholder." Now that victory had been won, they expected a "handsome dividend." What they thought of was precisely what Lu Hsün had described: "The toiling classes will surely pay them generously, giving them special treatment, providing them with deluxe cabins and first class meals, or the toilers will serve them bread and butter on a tray." Lenin condemned such profiteers in the revolution, pointing out sharply: "We have driven away the old bureaucrats, but now they have come. They call themselves 'communists.' If they cannot call themselves

communists, they would wear a red collar badge and crawl into a cosy nest. What should we do? Keep up the struggle with these wicked elements. If they have already penetrated our ranks, remove them, drive them away, and have the party-member workers and peasants who have been put to a prolonged test keep a watchful eye on them." (Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 14)

But regrettably, since Lenin's death, the Soviet Union gradually gave up the wage principle of the Paris Commune. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. During the days he was in charge of the Soviet party and state, he persisted in the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist direction, thus assuring the Soviet Union of victorious advance along the socialist path. But on matters regarding wage distribution, due to the restraints of metaphysical thinking and to inexperience, there was the tendency to stress techniques to the neglect of politics, to emphasize the importance of experts to the neglect of the masses, to emphasize material incentives to the neglect of political-ideological work, and to emphasize opposition to egalitarianism but not opposition to wide differentials. Consequently, distribution according to work was made absolute and rigid, resulting in ever widening gaps in personal income between the responsible members of Party and government and the intellectuals on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other. As was stated in the article "Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons to the World," "It is undeniable that in the Soviet Union, even before the death of Stalin, a high salary system was already enforced for a part of the people, and a number of cadres had degenerated into bourgeois elements." After the Khrushchev renegade clique usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, it pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in an all-round manner. In respect to wage distribution, he [Khrushchev] substituted "material incentives" for the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," while at the same time fostering those degenerates that had occupied the leading posts at various levels, thus forming in Soviet society a new bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class. This is a grave lesson in the history of the international communist movement.

More than fifty years have elapsed since Lenin wrote that note to Buluyevich. Lenin's homeland, controlled by Breshnev and company, has already changed its color long ago. But the note still gives this generation a profound lesson. Today in Soviet society, revisionist spiritual aristocrats and bureaucrats have long thrown Lenin's testament to the winds. They have written other notes, asking for favors or issuing orders, seeking private profits in all possible ways and opening the door for privileges. Two different notes may reflect two totally different states of mind, enabling us to see clearly from one angle how the present Soviet society has degenerated peacefully step by step.

Let's read this note by Lenin! It'll help us study Chairman Mao's recent important instruction on the question of theory.

* * *

Strengthen the Building of Workers Ranks in Struggle

- A survey of Shanghai Hutung Shipyard

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

In a socialist enterprise is it desirable to strengthen the building of the workers ranks, including the transformation of the contingent itself? Practice of the Shanghai Hutung Shipyard in recent years provides quite a satisfactory answer to this question.

The Hutung Shipyard began its development phase during the 1958 big leap forward period and not many of the pre-liberation personnel were retained. Led by the Party in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the shipyard successfully carried out the "cleaning up the class ranks" and "one-strike and three-anti" campaigns. This resulted in the chastening of the class ranks throughout the shipyard. This development at one time encouraged some comrades of the shipyard's Party committee to entertain the pacifist idea, a lulling sense of calm before a storm, in the belief that they could devote more of their efforts to production. Facts, however, proved just the contrary. For instance, some comrades later recalled, the shipyard was in the grip of "a wave of bourgeois attacks." In view of the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, in a few years a section of the shipyard workers as well as a number of cadres began to commit graft, theft, speculation and profiteering, decadence and degeneration. Although the number of people involved was small, the abuse reached alarming proportions. There were likewise twists and turns and reversals even among advanced shifts and groups as well as individuals who had slackened in political and ideological work. The struggle became acute because once the proletariat became slack in building its own ranks, the bourgeoisie would find a loophole and get in. Take the hoist section of this shipyard's diesel engine workshop as an example. More than 70 hoist operators of this section played an important role in production because these workers moved big pieces from one work section to another and thus kept things moving among the various sections. Because the leadership of this section put greater stress on production than on ideological work, the hoist operators became lax in labor discipline. This laxity at first manifested itself in certain undesirable practices such as pilfering and gambling; it resulted later in a wave of major and minor accidents. Not until the workshop's Party general branch turned its attention to the struggle in the ideological sphere by arousing the rank and file to criticise undesirable bourgeois practices did things change radically in the shipyard. In 1974, a year marked by big advances in the shipbuilding industry, the workers of this section were fired with added enthusiasm and inspired by the idea of working for the revolution and acting as the masters of their own house. As a result, there were no serious production accidents during that year, thus insuring smooth operation throughout the workshop.

The lulling sense of tranquillity which had pervaded shipyard workers was dispelled by facts. After studying this manifestation among the ranks of the workers the shipyard's Party committee realized that any attempt to view the worker masses as inflexible as like an "iron slab" and immune to disintegration and struggle would run counter to the dialectics of "one divides into two." Since it would be impossible to keep socialist undertakings outside society the workers themselves cannot be kept in a vacuum. As long as the bourgeoisie exists in society under conditions that favor the growth of that class, the evil wind whipped up by the bourgeoisie will pervade our rank and file. Socialist undertakings are dependent upon the vast numbers of the workers while the leaders of enterprises should be supervised by the workers. However, if we do not struggle against the evil wind fostered by the bourgeoisie and directed at the workers, it would be impossible to lead this contingent of workers to carry out socialist revolution and construction satisfactorily. "The working class should transform society as a whole in class struggle and in the struggle with nature and in so doing try to transform itself." Basic-level Party organizations of socialist enterprises must attach great importance to using communist ideology to strengthen the education and transformation of the workers ranks, fostering in struggle a vast contingent of extraordinarily revolutionized and militant fighters.

The workers contingent is characterized by a variety of conditions. They vary in age, background, experience, differing in their strong points and shortcomings. The bourgeois corrosion of the workers contingent is often preceded by probings of the shortcomings of the workers themselves. In taking hold of the building of the workers ranks, the shipyard's Party committee approached the matter by seeing to it that the workers absorb others' strong points in order to make up for their own shortcomings. This approach has proved effective in increasing their resistance to bourgeois corrosion.

Old and middle-aged workers form the backbone of Hutung Shipyard. They have gone through the ordeal of the old society and therefore found it difficult to forget the "vast difference between the new and old societies," An old worker of the Hulls Section at the shipyard, for instance, recalled with bitterness the untold privations he suffered in the old society and attributed to the Communist Party the happiness he had found in the new society. Cherishing the Party and socialism, they have contributed immensely to the cause of socialist revolution and construction. Having lived long in the old society, some of them have more or less been exposed to and influenced by the idea of "stressing practical benefits rather than doing more work and getting ahead of others." Prior to the outbreak of the great cultural revolution, they were subjected in varying degrees to the pernicious influence of "material incentives," "cash bonus in command" and other revisionist inducements. These things were criticized during the great cultural revolution, but they had not been completely uprooted. They would very often reappear at an opportune moment. By citing typical cases, the shipyard's Party committee combined education in adhering to the Party's basic line with the problems found among the workers ranks, so this

contingent could shoulder the heavy task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. A veteran worker of this shipyard who was known for his seniority in Communist Party membership and his advanced status among the rank and file committed theft of public property in 1973, due to the erosion of bourgeois ideology through his own neglect in ideological education. Citing this shocking fact, the shipyard's Party committee lost no time in arousing the whole shipyard, cadres as well as the rank and file, to discuss the implications of relaxing one's hold on ideological remolding and the possibility of turning away from socialism, such as the particular veteran worker had demonstrated. Only by persisting in the study of Marxism and continuously transforming one's world outlook could one devote his lifetime to the cause of socialism.

With the flourishing development of socialist construction, industrial undertakings have recruited large numbers of young workers. In the case of Hutung Shipyard, more than half of the employees are young workers. Most of them have been brought up in the new society, "showing a willingness to learn and having very few conservative ideas." They display the same spirit of daring whether in combating bad people and evil-doings or in overcoming production bottlenecks. They serve as fresh reinforcement to socialist undertakings. But they are not without shortcomings, such as their lack of insight into the old and new societies and their inexperience in class struggle. Compared with the veteran workers, they are more susceptible to the influence and corrosion of bourgeois notions of taking to a life of ease and comfort and shunning labor. One young worker of good origin had acquitted himself well. But his desire to have a pair of stylish leather shoes made him the prey of bourgeois scum of society and finally caused him to get mixed up with hooligans and teddy boys. He ended up a criminal in a year's time. Similar instances alerted the shipyard's Party committee which came to realize the importance of conducting ideological education among the young workers before devoting itself to the task of building the workers ranks. Apart from guiding young people to plunge themselves into the class struggle and accept practical education, the Communist Youth League and trade unions have under the leadership of the shipyard's Party committee repeatedly carried out education in the Party's basic line among the young workers of the shipyard. This program has been supplemented in recent years by subjects about the revolutionary tradition and in recalling past misery in contrast with present happiness. By guiding the young workers to study the relationship between classes and individuals and the law of struggle between the bourgeois corrosion and proletarian counter-corrosion after the liberation, and criticizing the bourgeois philosophy of life such as "making hay while the sun shines," the youths have been encouraged to resist bourgeois corrosion and establish the revolutionary philosophy of life of dedicating oneself to the cause of communism. The transformation of six young women workers of the electroplating section of the shipyard is a typical example. They joined the shipyard in 1972. The sight of tall buildings and massive docks impressed them. But they were disheartened upon learning that they would be assigned to the electroplating section where the jobs were tough.

Their illusions shattered, they had lost their spirit when they found themselves in the electroplating section. They kept thinking of their fellow workers assigned to sections where the jobs were not so tough. The workshop's Party general branch was aware of this situation and began to do ideological work on them with their particular problems in mind. They were urged to criticize the bourgeoisie and use the proletarian viewpoint to distinguish hardship from ease and noble from base. Once they had clarified their thoughts and distinguished right from wrong, they no longer complained about electroplating. Instead, they identified the electric solder with the dedication of the workers in the "fiery years." To help complete the installation of the 10,000-ton class ocean-going freighter "Hsuchou," they formed in August 1974 with five other young women workers a shock electroplating team exemplifying their devotion to both production and revolution. The shipyard's Party committee cited this typical case of working wholeheartedly in the dockyard by day and studying Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works by night as an example for emulation throughout the shipyard. Their experience at once took hold of all the young workers in the shipyard as a wave of studying Marxism, repudiating revisionism and building socialism prevailed among the young people. As a result, youth shock teams began to mushroom throughout the shipyard.

In the course of ideologically remolding the young workers, the shipyard's Party committee gave particular attention to guiding the young workers to correctly handle the relationship between the master-workmen and their apprentices. This came into sharp focus after they had analyzed the causes of a woman apprentice worker's backsliding and the lessons drawn therefrom. When this young woman first joined the shipyard she had a desire to advance politically and work with zeal. She was known among her fellow workers as a tiger cub, an appelation which was in praise of her preoccupation with heavy and filthy jobs. However, because of her uncritical acceptance of the bourgeois way of living as trumpeted by the master-workmen and interpreted her acceptance of re-education by the working class as "heeding what the master-workman says," she later made mistakes in her everyday doings. As a matter of fact, the relationship between master-workmen and their apprentices is likewise a kind of class relation. The former face the problem of using what world outlook to bring up the next generation while the latter face the problem of how to accept re-education by the working class. Any attempt to regard what the master-workman says as a rule of thumb savors of the pernicious influence of feudal guilds and is harmful to the maturing of the younger generation. With this development in mind, the shipyard's Party committee conducted education among middle-aged and old workers in "how to foster the next generation for the proletariat." In addition, the Party committee initiated discussions among the young workers on how to accept re-education by the working class. The participants began to realize the importance of passing on proletarian ideology and good qualities to the next generation when accepting apprentices and of stressing acceptance of proletarian ideology in the re-education program. One young apprentice who had raised

his understanding through study exposed in a big-character poster how a master-workman had spread erroneous views. He continued to do so when he encountered retaliatory actions. The shipyard's Party committee stepped in to give support to the young apprentice's revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle against the master-workman's erroneous utterances. This helped in further clarifying the understanding of many workers on the importance of accepting re-education by the working class as related to efforts to resist bourgeois ideology among a section of the workers. As a result, a thriving situation developed throughout the shipyard in which master-workmen and apprentices assisted each other, learned from one another and strove to remold themselves in struggle. In order to better strengthen the building of the workers ranks in struggle, the shipyard's Party committee spared no efforts to educate the workers with Marxist theory. Particularly since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius gained momentum, the Party committee stressed the building of a workers contingent of theorists and did its best to help this contingent study and mature in struggle so the theorists would be able to distinguish socialism from capitalism. In recent years capitalist tendencies such as "fixing output quotas on the basis of the individuals" and "material incentives" had thrice appeared in the steel casting workshop. But whenever such a trend reared its head it was suppressed by the workers theoretical group and the worker masses who wrote critical articles and commentaries about the importance of strengthening ideological and political work on the plane of the line struggle and explaining the harm of "material incentives" and "fixing output quotas on the basis of the individual." This educated the rank and file and propelled the development of both revolution and production in that workshop.

Practice of Hutung Shipyard likewise shows that doing a good job of ideological construction among the cadres is a prerequisite to grasping well the ideological construction of the workers ranks. The bourgeois style of life has prevailed within the ranks of both the workers and cadres of this shipyard. Moreover, the capitalist tendency among a section of the workers was often tied up with some of the cadres. For instance, the practice of "fixing output quotas on the basis of the individual" and "material incentives" would not have been possible without the support of a few cadres. The resurgence of the evil bourgeois wind in some workshops and sections previously was often connected with a certain number of cadres.

On the basis of summing up experience and drawing lessons in recent years, the shipyard's Party committee has attached importance to the question of tidying up the leading groups and educating the cadres. At first some people objected on the ground that leading groups were in good hands since veteran cadres had been tempered in the great cultural revolution while new cadres were fast maturing. In coping with this problem, the Party committee organized a section of the cadres and veteran workers to recall the history of the "san-fan" and "wu-fan" campaigns as a reminder that they should in no way lose sight of bourgeois corrosion and insidious attacks. For instance, just

one or two years after the liberation the bourgeoisie used sugar-coated bullets to corrupt some veteran survivors of the fighting years. Today, the struggle between bourgeois corrosion and proletarian counter-corrosion still exists. In fact this happens to be so. A former shipyard worker who later became a new cadre was assigned to a leadership post in a certain section. In less than three years he made use of his authority to purchase state-controlled building materials and built a house for himself. This set a bad example within and outside the shipyard. Many people were critical of this new cadre and spoke disapprovingly of him. A searching look at the matter enlightened a large number of cadres. This prompted everyone to examine the existence of the privileged few within the ranks of the cadres, such as requesting certain favors from the Party and approaching the Party organization for filling certain posts, as well as the development of certain bourgeois styles of life. Losing sight of the considerable changes that have taken place within the ranks of the cadres in the wake of struggles and their development eight years after the great cultural revolution one would be liable to commit metaphysical errors. Only by conducting socialist education among the ranks of the cadres and resisting corrosion and steering clear of contamination can we truly turn the leading groups at all levels into combat citadels capable of leading the masses to advance.

Criticizing and dealing with errant cadres could often complicate relationships and cause ramifications. What should be done, then? Should we adhere to principle or look after relationships? This poses an acid test to the leadership. Particularly when the Party organization was considering giving assistance to certain errant cadres in order to save them, some people would often step forward to defend them and air their grievances. Moreover, some people appear to have the misgivings that if they fail to handle properly the new cadres, the fruit of the great cultural revolution and newly engendered things, they might be accused of negating the great cultural revolution. How to view this expression of public opinion? What is the correct approach to socialist new things? Proceeding from the Party's interests and adhering to the "unity--criticism--unity" formula, the shipyard's Party committee urged the cadres and the rank and file to study Chairman Mao's thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and discuss the question of how to defend and develop the fruits of the great cultural revolution. In this way the Party committee helped everyone realize that adhering to the proletarian principle and combating all ideas and actions detrimental to the cause of socialism would amount to defending, rather than negating, the great fruits of the great cultural revolution. Any attempt to disregard the bourgeois style of life that has infested a section of the cadres or tolerate its spread would in fact amount to accommodating capitalism. This would only cause these errant cadres to slide deeper and deeper until they cannot pull themselves out of the mire. This would then constitute an offense to the cause of the Party. With the support of the shipyard's Party committee, the Party organizations of many workshops aroused the rank and file to sharply criticize the bourgeois world outlook of errant cadres and help them understand their mistakes and mend their ways.

This promoted the vigorous development of the ideological education program undertaken throughout the shipyard for the benefit of cadres. In the process of tidying up the cadre ranks and educating the cadres, the shipyard's Party committee implemented the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," paying particular attention to adhering to proletarian principle while strictly distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions. By persisting in doing things this way, they succeeded in closely uniting more than 95 percent of the cadres and the rank and file, making it possible for veteran cadres to receive education and keep up with their revolutionary spirit and new cadres to engross themselves in study, to strengthen the process of self-remolding and to mature more soundly.

With the program of building the workers ranks in good hands at Hutung Shipyard, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has been implemented down to grassroots units. This shipyard gives the impression that socialism is advancing in triumph everywhere, the bourgeois evil wind and undesirable practices rapidly subsiding, the socialist activism and creativeness of the workers soaring. A thriving scene has prevailed throughout the shipyard. In the present excellent situation cadres, workers and technicians without exception are engaged in the study of Chairman Mao's important directives relating to theory as well as the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They said proudly, "We will produce 10,000-ton class ships one by one and carry to completion one after another tasks for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

(Jen Ching 任菁)

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It Is Fine To Return Three Fen of Salt!

by

Shu Ch'ing (树清)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 3, March 16, 1975)

There's a story of three fen [cents] of salt going around the Chungnan Cooperative Messhall of the First Food and Drinks Company, Huangpu district.* Once, a young man felt he had a sore throat just when he was about to start the morning shift in the messhall. "I could do with a glass of hot salt water now," he exclaimed. "There's plenty of salt here," somebody remarked. "A pinch less wouldn't be making any difference." Another young man overheard what was said and reminded them: "There sure is a lot of salt here, but it's all collective property. You may take a glass of salt water now, but be sure to buy back the salt when the salt shop opens." The young man with the sore throat gladly waited for the salt shop to open and bought three fen of salt which he immediately gave back to the messhall.

It's just fine to return three fen of salt! Because this represents a complete break with the traditional concepts of private ownership! "There's plenty of salt here, a pinch less wouldn't be making any difference." Here we see the bourgeois concepts of private ownership at work. Our socialist state of proletarian dictatorship has done away with the private ownership of the means of production, but because bourgeois right and the influences of the bourgeoisie, international imperialism and revisionism still exist, the pernicious influence of the "theory of merging public and private interests" as advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i, so far from being eliminated, is still poisoning people's minds. Giving back the three fen of salt may sound like a trifle, but it is indicative of the sacred inviolability of the property of the people and collective assets. It's wrong to take even a little from them. What the young man did was not just to return three fen of salt, he was opening fire on the concepts of private ownership and bourgeois right. And it is from that inconspicuous act of his that gleams the sparks of communist thought.

It's fine to return three fen of salt because it marks a victory over the encirclement, contamination and corruption by bourgeois ideology. Chairman Mao has already told us: "There may be some Communists who have never been conquered by enemies with guns and deserve to be called heroes in the face of these enemies, but who cannot withstand the attack by sugar-coated bullets and will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets."

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* See also "The Anti-Corrosion Struggle of 16 Young Attendants," Hung-ch'i, No. 3, SPRCM No. 815, March 31, 1975.

When the bourgeoisie and the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie try to encircle, contaminate and corrupt the proletariat, they invariably concentrate on using "self-interest" as the fatal weapon. The counter-corrosion struggle of the proletariat is essentially a struggle against the bourgeois "self-interest." The three fen of salt is a "very tiny amount," but on it there is a struggle between public and private interest, the question of who defeats whom. "A dike that runs a thousand li could collapse with an ant-hole." The struggle against corruption should start from those seemingly small and trifling issues. One may recall what a soldier of the Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road said when he handed in a one-fen coin he had picked up: "A fen may mean nothing, but if it's not yours and if you keep it in your pocket, you will have on you an indelible stain." Similarly, if you didn't give back to the collective the salt you had used to make that glass of hot salt water, it could mean the beginning of a losing battle against bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, an irremovable stain on your conscience.
The story of the three fen of salt is indicative of the way the young people of Chungnan Cooperative Messhall are conducting the struggle against corruption. There is no compromise even on a trivial matter. Once we have the spirit of non-compromise in the struggle against corruption, no matter what kind of sugar-coated bullets the bourgeoisie may use, we shall not be conquered, but shall be capable of beating any bourgeois encirclement and its attempt to contaminate and corrupt us!

It's fine to return three fen of salt because it embodies the true political colors of the proletariat, the inheritance of the glorious traditions of our Party and army. As early as in the period of the Democratic Revolution, Chairman Mao had highly eulogized such political colors of the proletariat in a quotation on the "apples of Chinchow." He said: "Chinchow is a place that produces apples. When the Laohsi campaign started, it happened to be autumn when the people had a lot of apples in their homes. But none of our soldiers took any. I was greatly moved by the news. On a matter like this, the soldiers felt that it would be noble not to take any and despicable if they did, because the apples belonged to the people." The young people of Chungnan Cooperative Messhall also felt that it was noble not to take salt from the messhall and despicable if they did because the salt belonged to the people. Between the apples of Chinchow and the three fen of salt of Chungnan Cooperative Messhall, a full twenty or so years has elapsed. But it can be seen from the young people of Chungnan Cooperative Messhall that, tempered in the proletarian cultural revolution, the younger generation has not only inherited such political features of the proletariat but has carried them forward. Imperialism's prophets once placed their hopes of China being changed peacefully on its third or fourth generation. It appears their hopes are bound to fall flat. The story of the three fen of salt has declared these prophesies bankrupt. China's younger generation will certainly inherit the glorious traditions of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, advance bravely along the road of socialism, and carry the struggle against the bourgeoisie through to the end!

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A New Experience in Running Middle Schools with Open Doors

- Investigation report on short-term training classes run by middle schools in Nanshih district in conjunction with activities to learn farming

by

Ho Hsin (何欣)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

Editor's Note:

A wave of enthusiasm of learning the advanced experiences of Chaoyang Agricultural College is being whipped up on the educational front. What are its experiences? Basically, we must learn from them in "turning the school into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat" to serve agriculture, the socialist economic base and proletarian politics. This is also the purpose of our running schools with open doors. To better run schools with open doors it is necessary to strengthen leadership and oppose the practice of letting things take their own natural course. In this respect, we have gained a lot of good experience since the great cultural revolution. The problem at present is to affirm these achievements, sum up experience, pay attention to practical effects and continue to advance.

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Running schools with open doors with students participating in learning farm labor is something new since the great proletarian cultural revolution. In order to consolidate and develop this new thing, middle schools in Nanshih district in conjunction with learning farm work have universally operated short-term training classes of various types so as to enable students, while learning farming, to have a concrete and lively ideological and line education and to acquire knowledge and capability which they cannot acquire in the class. This has created a new experience in deepening the educational revolution in middle schools, altering the situation in which middle school students in the city have no knowledge about the rural areas and peasants.

According to incomplete statistics, during the "three-autumn" farm work learning activities last year, 27 middle schools in Nanshih district operated a total of 1,014 short-term training classes, covering nearly 20 subjects such as tractors, gasoline engines, threshers, harvesters, water pumps, rural electrical and mechanical work, planting of four major crops, rural reporting, surveying, animal husbandry, book-keeping, barefoot doctors, acupuncture, Chinese herbs and traditional

medicine and veterinary service. Teachers and students who took part in these training classes numbered 26,400. On the average each person attended from two to three classes. Through these classes, students applied and tested the theories learned in schools in practical work and analyzed the problems encountered in the three great revolutions in the rural areas on the theoretical plane, thus heightening greatly their ability to handle practical problems. Take the tractor short-term training classes for example. Two hundred twenty-nine such classes were held by 27 middle schools, and over 5,800 persons are now able to operate walking tractors. In the T'angyen Middle School the girl students of a certain class used to think that girls could not operate tractors. Through their bold practice in the short-term training classes, all the 20 girls and more in the class hve learned to operate walking tractors, and some of them have learned even to drive the Bumper Harvester 35 model, a large type of tractor. They went to work in the fields during the "three-autumn" work, using practical actions to criticize and repudiate the reactionary fallacies of Confucius and Lin Piao such as "men are superior to women" and "knowledge is innate." All the students of the fourth-year (1) class of the 10th Municipal Middle School after participating in the short-term training classes can now handle the dismantling, assembly and use of "four kinds of machines" (tractor, gasoline engine, harvester and thresher). Many students in the "three-autumn" period served as tractor drivers in farming and transportation, to the delight of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Judging from the practical experiences of the middle schools in Nanshih district, the main reason why these training classes were so successful is that the schools have persisted in doing the following:

First, insist on putting the transformation of students' thinking in the first place. Chairman Mao says: "All work in schools is for the purpose of transforming students' thinking." The countryside is an ideal classroom for tempering young students, and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are their good teachers. The middle schools of Nanshih district, while running short-term training classes, have made full use of these favorable conditions and conducted concrete ideo-political line education among the students. For those students given to the thought of preferring vocational training to politics, industry to agriculture, the schools generally initiated educational activities to study "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," criticize Lin Piao's theory of "labor reform in disguise," and establish the lofty ideal of communism, helping students to take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants. A student of Fenglai Middle School at first wanted only to learn driving tractors and was reluctant to attend a short-term class on reporting. He thought that tractor driving was a skill which would be "in great demand" in the future. He also said: "I can't even write an essay. How can I become a reporter?" The poor and lower-middle peasants said to him: "It is precisely because you have not learned the subject well that you should attend the class." They also told him that study is for the revolution and for the construction

of a socialist new countryside, not for personal interest. "To acquire skills in great demand" is a reflection of the revisionist ideology. Local reporters of his brigade also urged him, in light of actual conditions, to "master the pen well in the interest of the poor and lower-middle peasants." This gave him a profound education. He wrote in his diary: "They helped me understand the aim of study, and I must study socialist culture well for the revolution. I must learn to write in praise of the new socialist countryside and the good thinking of the poor and lower-middle peasants." After he joined the short-term reporters class, he studied seriously and painstakingly, heightening his ideological level and writing ability. Not only did he keep a Red diary, but he also produced a good investigation report every day. The T'angyen Middle School held its training classes for animal breeders in the livestock farm. But some students feared the dirt and even covered up their noses during work. In view of this, the poor and lower-middle peasants, together with the teachers, organized them to study Chairman Mao's works and joined them in the class so as to enable them to establish the idea that farming is glorious work. Educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, many students no longer shunned the pigsty but were eager to work in it. After about a month of study they learned to prepare feeds for the pigs and take care of the sick pigs. They have become new-type animal breeders with good thinking and skills. As the transformation of students' thinking is put in the first position, students of many schools, through study in the short-term training classes, have realized from practice the importance of agriculture in socialist construction and understood the need for educated youths to be tempered in the rural areas. They have all indicated that after graduation they will keep to the orientation charted by Chairman Mao and go to the countryside to make revolution all their lives.

Second, persist in the principle of linking theory with practice. Running short-term training classes in conjunction with learning farming is a good extension of and supplement to classroom teaching. Many problems that cannot be solved in classroom can be readily solved in these short-term training classes held in the rural areas. Take, for instance, the teaching material on tractors in the second-year classes of middle schools. In the past, the students did not even have a perceptual knowledge about tractor parts, so the teacher had great difficulty in teaching the subject and the students were not deeply impressed. However, while attending short-term training classes, the students were given the chance to see the tractor parts and touch them. However, teachers of many middle schools in Nanshih district realized that running short-term training classes in the countryside provided only one condition for linking theory with practice, and that to do this in the real sense of the word it was also necessary to organize teaching in accordance with dialectical materialism. Therefore, in their teaching work, they usually let the students practice with the farm machine relevant to their subjects. After gaining some perceptual knowledge, the students will then be taught by lecturers from the poor and lower-middle peasants as to the basic principles of the structure, assembly and application of the machine. Next, they will be guided to dismantle, assemble and repair machines. Finally, in connection with the relevant principles

of the basic engineering course, a summing-up will be made jointly by the teachers, students and poor and lower-middle peasant lecturers, with the findings analyzed and tested on the theoretical plane. In this way, in a process of practice--knowledge--again practice--again knowledge, from the shallow to the deep, from perceptual to rational knowledge, there will be better results in both teaching and learning. For instance, in learning the use of Model-166F gasoline sprayer, the "4-machine" short-term training class held by the 10th Municipal Middle School first arranged for the students to take part in spraying insecticide in the fields for 2 days before learning the principles of the machine's structure. And in the course of the lecture on the structure of the machine, taking the practical problems arising from the spraying of insecticide in the fields, the students were guided to see the dialectical relationship between the gas, the petrol and fire. After that, they were asked to dismantle and assemble the machine in order to fully digest what they had learned from the lecture. The lecturer then gave the students problems to solve so as to allow them to find the means and ways to prevent and control mechanical trouble. In this way, through lecturing and labor practice, the 44 students of the class were able to master the techniques of operating, dismantling and assembling the gasoline engine and to prevent simple breakdown. After that, the production teams allowed the students to carry out spraying independently, so that in the course of repeated practice they could further master the function and operation of the engine. This teaching method of combining classroom teaching with practice has greatly enlivened the teaching and learning atmosphere and aroused the learning enthusiasm. Said the students: "If you study from the blackboard, you can only learn from theory to theory. When you go to the spot and study the gasoline engine, you can understand the theory and operate it." The poor and lower-middle peasants also said that running such classes not only saved time but also yielded excellent results and that these classes were in a sense fighting classes for aiding agriculture.

Third, insist on bringing out the key points, paying attention to practical effects, and learning warfare through warfare. Since these classes are of short duration and students are required to participate in labor, special attention must be given to the key points in the content of study; there is no need to pursue quantity. According to teachers of Nanshih district middle schools, the key points are those subjects of urgent use to the current three great revolutions in the countryside, so that by taking part in activities to learn farming, students may acquire one or two practical skills. After a few years of persistent effort, they will be able to meet the requirements of the three great revolutions. For instance, the Wenchien Middle School, in running a short-term class for barefoot doctors, took acupuncture as the key point, with the students studying the major needle points in the human body, the technique of inserting needle and methods of treating common diseases in the rural areas by acupuncture. Many students were bold enough to take themselves as guinea pigs and also practice insertion on each other's body. They followed the barefoot doctors in practice, treating the sick poor and lower-middle peasants in the clinic or in their homes. This enabled the students to master more easily the simple acupunctural methods of treatment. They also set up a record of 50 case studies and incorporated

them into lectures for the study class. With the emphasis on key points, students were enabled to learn the skills in practice. Short-term training classes are, as a rule, held before the advent of busy farm seasons. Concentrated study is conducted for five to seven days to enable them to master initially the basic knowledge of a certain skill. After the start of busy farm work, students are dispatched to separate production teams where they will labor and study at the same time. In this way, learning warfare from warfare, and laying the emphasis on key points, they can achieve remarkable results.

Fourth, insist on three-way combination of part-time teachers from among poor and lower-middle peasants, school teachers and students. Judging from the conditions of Nanshih district middle schools, most teachers have lived in the city for a long time and came from old schools. They are therefore lacking in experience of rural life and in the ability to link theory with practice. In order to solve this contradiction, Nanshih district, apart from organizing a group of teachers to go to the rural areas several days in advance to attend a short-term class of teachers to learn what is needed, has mainly adopted the method of integrating school teachers with part-time teachers from poor and lower-middle peasants. They also organized specialized teachers (those teaching basic engineering subjects, mathematics, hygiene, etc.) to prepare lessons and teach jointly with part-time teachers from rural areas. Backbone students from short-term training classes were also selected to serve as assistant teachers for succeeding classes. Practice proves that such a teaching force of three-way combination insures in no small way the success of short-term training classes. Poor and lower-middle peasant lecturers have rich practical experiences and know the local situation well. They can teach from the deep to the shallow and in a way acceptable to the students. Full-time middle school teachers may, taking problems raised from practice into account, help the students analyze them theoretically to improve themselves. They can both teach and learn from the poor and lower-middle peasant lecturers. With some students becoming assistant teachers, it is possible to mobilize the enthusiasm of the students and to develop the habit of mutual help among students. When students first learn and then teach, they can indeed do well in both.

Fifth, persist in having the leadership go to the frontline. In whatever work we do, "if the masses alone are active without a strong leadership group to organise their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." The chief reason why middle schools in Nanshih district have achieved such good results in running short-term training classes is that the leadership has gone to the frontline to organize the activity of the masses. Leaders of many schools realize that, unless they go to the rural areas, they cannot lead the activities to learn farming well. Therefore, from the district educational and health offices to schools, leaders at various levels have on their own initiative gone to the country with the teachers and students. In the recent "three-autumn" period, over 80 percent of the schools sent out

teams led by leaders of Party branches, and over half of them had the secretaries and deputy secretaries of Party branches lead the teams. In addition, the district also had scores of members of workers' propaganda teams and school revolutionary committees participate in learning farming so as to strengthen organizational leadership. As leaders have gone to the frontline and the ideological work has also been done at the frontline, a lot of good experiences have been summed up promptly and the problems that emerged from short-term training classes have been duly solved. Some of the teachers originally wondered if it was possible to run short-term training classes well, given the short duration of study, the great variety and the strong seasonal character of farm jobs. Later, their confidence was boosted when they saw that leaders also went to the rural areas.

At present, leaders and teachers of all middle schools in Nanshih district are seriously summing up the experience of running short-term training classes in conjunction with learning farming, and on this basis they are considering an overall plan for the entire middle school stage whereby each student will have at least one or two chances to learn farming . On each occasion they will have one and a half months during which to study suitably such subjects as language, mathematics, basic engineering and agricultural sciences. They also intend to establish links with middle schools where learn-farming activities take place to exchange information with them and improve together so as to enhance the educational revolution in the urban middle schools and march forward in broad strides along the radiant path charted by Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive."

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